

The Republican.

No. 2. Vol. 14.] LONDON, Friday, July 21, 1826. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER AND PLACES ADJACENT.

CITIZENS,

REPORTS reach town, that you have men among you plotting sham insurrections and calling upon you to arm and to rise in arms for a redress of your grievances. I am not the man to discourage a genuine attempt of this kind; but I am particularly solicitous to prevent, at this important moment, all such ridiculous attempts or pretensions to the thing, as those which have been carrying on in your neighbourhood for many years past, and I would earnestly exhort you to abstain from all those ridiculous, those mere vagabond assemblages, which are confused and fly in all directions at the sight of a company of soldiers. By such tricks as these, you will neither be feared, respected, nor pitied. The newspapers tell us, that some hundreds of you paraded the back streets of Manchester and marched in a body to Middleton, picking up staves by the way, before the soldiers and police officers could overtake you: that you, or one of you was base enough to throw a brick at a single soldier; but that when a body of soldiers appeared, you all fled with rapidity and confusion into holes, corners and pigsties. Such conduct as this must make the soldiers your enemies, must make them despise and detest you, as base cowards, as villains that would murder but dare not fight. This should not be. To do any good, you must make yourselves to be respectfully pitied and feared. You must show the soldiers that you are brave men seeking sustenance, and not ruffians to assail them with stones and brickbats, and to fly when they resent such treatment. You must excite their sympathy and admiration and not their resentment. Your duty, when assembled for any purpose of discussion or information or whatever is useful, is, to act on the defensive and not on the offensive. The soldiers are hired and paid for the sole purpose of quelling your attempts at insurrection; but they are not the more for that your unfeeling enemies. Your conduct deservedly makes them enemies. You cannot expect, you do not deserve, the least sympathy from them, while a man of you is base enough to assail them with stones or other missiles before they put your lives in

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danger. In defence, in real war, all missiles are, by custom, lawful; but it is the rash, intemperate man, the man who wants sense and fortitude, the coward, who can throw the first stone and then fly.

All admit that your distresses are intolerable; there is a talk that the ministers contemplate something like effective relief. I cannot see how they can grant it to you and maintain a particle of their old system of government; but still I would have you to wait awhile with a little more patience; but while you wait, **PREPARE FOR THE WORST.** Take your own time. With system and with cool patience, perseverance, and fortitude, you can accomplish any thing, and this line of conduct will make you feared and respected, and induce the existing legislature to do whatever can be done for you. What need is there of your assembling in thousands to be told by one man to prepare arms? The idea is ridiculous. If you are men of mind, if you have a courage equal to the working out of your salvation from your present distress, Why not be always ready? Why not each do that which is necessary, without consulting your neighbours, or without talking about it?

All parties are sensible, the ministers themselves are sensible, that great changes must take place in the government of this country. It is impossible to say what will be done. But conduct such as I have reprobated will not forward any useful change: it will make it a war between the good and the bad men of the country and give weight to all the evils that afflict you. By good men, I distinguish those who really desire a change for your benefit; but who will not assist to bring it about in a ruffianly and cowardly manner: who will not make it a war of brickbats and filth: who will not identify themselves with cowardly ruffians, who can swear, bluster and throw a stone, but who are not fit to act with brave men staking their lives with coolness, fortitude and perseverance in a great national contest.

It is well to address you thus. It is the language of friendship to you. It is the sincere mind of one who would revolt as quickly from flattering the vices of a mere ruffianly mob of labourers in distress, or not in distress, as he would from flattering the vices of a king, or a mob of courtiers. The men whom you want as guides and advisers are they who can take a calm and impartial view of what is right and be bold enough to state that view to you in language that is not to be misunderstood. This, I shall undertake to do: this I feel to be my duty: and this I will do, however you may like or dislike it, or whatever may be the consequence to myself.

RICHARD CARLILE.

London, July 20, 1826.

GENERAL EMANCIPATION.

THE following note and letter I have just received from Liverpool. The original copies will be on sale at 62, Fleet Street, and I shall think myself well off when I get the cost of carriage by the sale. Country friends ought to have some thought about the cost of transmitting packets of this kind. I have paid this day 1s. for the receipt of 18s. in a country parcel: 2s. 2d. for the receipt of 10s. and 4s. 2d. for this Liverpool parcel.

I noticed in this 'Morning's Herald,' whether real or fictitious I cannot say, a letter representing the Jamaica Negro Slaves as sending their subscriptions and pity for the distressed free labourers of England.

R. C.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, LONDON.

SIR,

I HAVE enclosed you a hundred copies of my letter, which you will please to accept as a small tribute of sympathy with you for your sufferings upon matters of mere opinion, wishing you an increased sale of every work exhibiting "the truth," as it is in common sense.

I am yours truly,

AN ENEMY TO SUPERSTITION.

A Letter to Mr. James Cropper, upon the Petition for Abolition of West India Slavery; with some Allusion to the Distress and Crimes in England, the late Riot at Blackburn, &c. &c.

SIR,

THE idea of a retail dealer addressing a merchant or wholesale dealer, upon a subject of so much importance as the liberation from servitude of 700,000 negro bondsmen, carries with it at the first view an appearance of presumption, yet, without vanity, I hope to convince you this letter is not unworthy your notice, and that the writer has no other motive than the love of truth, and a free, impartial, and candid discussion of the question, as well as of the immediate propriety, and necessity for such a petition at the present time; I should much wish to know, Sir, in the first place, whether you have not, within these last few months, taken active steps by correspondence, personal appearance, and otherwise, to get up meetings, and to obtain signatures in various towns throughout the kingdom; meetings which have been calculated

to throw odium upon the West India planters, attempting at the same time to prove and dilate upon the deterioration of the West India soil, and laud the preferable produce, soil, and free labour of the East India proprietors. This is a material point to ascertain, and no doubt will be appreciated by Parliament accordingly.

Most certainly I should have moved an amendment to your motion, for petitioning the House of Commons, and have attempted to shew the far greater urgency of other cases for our pity, commiseration, and interference, than that of the well-fed, regularly worked, singing, dancing, happy negroes of the West India islands; but, seeing so many reverend divines, bankers, and merchants afar off, amid the clouds and symbols of a musical heaven, raised so far above their fellows, how could a humble individual pretend or find modest assurance sufficient to take so unequal a field: as well might the witness attempt to combat with a barrister, as a layman to harangue and publicly argue with a practised parson, and lo, on the high seats enthroned were seven ecclesiastics! But, granting the propriety of an abolition: of a complete change of property, is this, I would ask, *the time* to get up petitions, to load the tables of the House of Commons with the signatures of thousands of unthinking individuals, many of whom sign by influence, and probably, who, if asked, would not know the difference between the spirituous sugar of the West, and the sweet clay of the East Indies. A few months have but elapsed since Mr. Canning's five resolutions or laws were passed, in favour of the negroes' security and happiness, but the abolitionists are as the seamen represent the negroes to be; more discontented in proportion to the grants and concessions made to them. Give a negro an inch and he'll want or take a fathom, is their proverb from experience; and, it is a well-known fact, where there is one act of punishment by British planters, there are ten by the Portuguese and other proprietors, and about twenty in these isles of freedom and liberty. It is a question with me, Sir, whether the negro population of our colonies do not enjoy a greater ratio of happiness, than the majority of the labouring population of the United Kingdom; *they* are never half-starved and debilitated by fatigue and want, *they* have no care for the morrow,

"With circling dance they beat the ground,
The joyous song still reigns around."

While our ploughmen homeward plod their weary way, our sickly artizans ply their arduous tasks in an unnatural degree of heat! Hundreds delving below the surface of the earth, shut out from the light of heaven! Thousands half naked exposed to the fiercest heats and sudden colds; and at this moment probably half a million out of employ, wanting both food and raiment; and is this a time to petition the House of Commons upon an imaginary

case of distress abroad, when the horrid reality stares us in the face at home? For I contend, Sir, it is an imaginary case, and the fact self-evident, that there is tenfold more crime, with consequent executions and imprisonments, in this boasted land of liberty, than in our colonies, taking an equal number of slaves and self-styled freemen. What then, I would ask, is liberty the cause of vice or mismanagement? Either then the slaves are better managed, or liberty is productive of crime, imprisonment, and death. Is it not horrible that two tradesmen have been murdered in their own shops, within these three months? and, if I am right here, that there is less crime in the West India islands proportionately to Great Britain, then it must follow as a necessary result, the population are more happy, for

"Tis a truth enough for man to know,
Virtue alone is happiness below."

then, Sir, it follows that a real philanthropist would have founded a petition for a reformation of our laws at home, or for a better execution of them, so that the frightful tide of crime and punishment may be stayed in our native land. In the meeting at the Music Hall there was a paucity of argument, and a redundancy of declamation. The Rev. Mr. Wilson took something like a fair view of the case between the philanthropic abolitionists and the owners of estates, but he overlooked unhappy Ireland, the benighted semibarbarous Highlanders, and the distress of the country in which he enjoys affluence and comparative independence. Mr. Roscoe's letter was honourable to him as a man of feeling, but when he affirmed we were the cause of negro slavery, the position was incorrect, for we cannot be the cause of that which has existed for preceding ages. The Rev. Dr. Stewart was clearly for strengthening the hands of ministers, but while with a high hand and an outstretched arm they reach forth and collect fifty-seven millions of money annually from the people, surely they want not the worthy doctor's support. One speaker alone, Ottiwell Wood, Esq. addressed the elevated synod from the body of the hall. His address was more laudatory of the late Messrs. Corrie, Rathbone, Rushton, and of Mr. Roscoe, than replete with arguments in favour of emancipation. It is a remarkable fact, and worth mentioning here, that the two most sensible, public-spirited, and patriotic men ever connected with the society of Friends, I allude to the calumniated, reviled, and banished Thomas Payne; the honest, candid, independent, and injured Wm. Rathbone,—both suffered for their opinions. You knew this, Mr. Cropper, and you also know that several persons are confined in the cells of Newgate up to this hour, merely for matters of opinion publicly expressed. And when will you ever convene a meeting for the promotion of freedom in this respect? I much fear, Sir, you resemble Mr. Wilberforce, who I saw two

or three years ago in the House of Commons, armed with Archdeacon Paley's Theology, resisting the petition of a poor woman, with an infant family, who pleaded at the bar of the House of Commons, through the influence of that indefatigable representative, Joseph Hume. She pleaded for the liberty of her husband from that worst of bondage, the confined precincts of a gaol. How inconsistent, Sir, was such a picture, compared with the scene of the friend to liberty emancipating the negroes. They may call him king Wilberforce, but in my opinion such unfeeling legislation plainly indicates a man to be the subject of superstition, bigotry, prejudice, and error.

"Sorry should I be, Sir, to oppose for one moment any reasonable plan for the amelioration of the slaves, but had I been a volunteer abolitionist, I should tremble at the hopes I had excited in the poor deluded negroes, the disaffection I had created by inflammatory language, and should sicken at the carnage that took place last year at Demerara; every rebellious head, every ghastly countenance exhibited on the walls and upon the posts of that town, would to my imagination writhe, grin, and gibe at my foolish and hasty interference, and my presumptuous attempts to assist the slaves, in getting by force emancipation or freedom; thus rendering them miserable, restless, and desperate. Granting your utmost views were accomplished, that they had thrown off the yoke of their masters, that by these means the soil was neglected, labour reduced, crops failing, then, Sir, you would perhaps direct us to the supplies from India; and here is an appalling picture indeed! At this moment there is a sanguinary warfare going on to secure our Indian possessions; a greater waste of human life by the sword in one year than has been exhibited by the western colonies in ten years. Have you forgotten a whole regiment of native Indian infantry were enclosed, fired upon, and cut to pieces for revolting from European Christian government; and do you, Sir, uphold this system of force, of bloody warfare, and say it is preferable to negro slavery? Can such things overcome us like a summer's cloud, without our special wonder. View the operations of the Burmese, consider the valour with which they contend for their native plains and rights; they, although not so ferocious a species of man as the African negro, yet are hateful of our oppression, enraged at our inroads upon their religion, country, and laws. What a sight is it to view one ship laden with missionaries, another with armed men of war. Contrast the account:—the *three days sanguinary fight* mentioned in the last arrivals from India, and the following from Bermuda, dated March ultimo:—'We have begun, and still continue our endeavours to abolish Sunday markets; but, indeed, negroes can every day send the produce of their own gardens for sale.' How few, Sir, in this free country enjoy this privilege, the healthful blessing of a garden. Is not every recreation, every pastime of a public and

healthful nature put down ; and are not our labouring, our most useful class of people reduced to the almost solitary injurious enjoyment of ardent liquors at the tavern. Besides, Sir, if I understand rightly, the India cultivators of the soil are hereditary bondsmen, *the slaves of slaves!* They are bought and sold, 'brothers are separated from their sisters, children from their parents.' These *East India slaves* are miserably supplied with food, living in small wretched huts like baskets, and it is notorious that the ill treatment they receive renders them diminutive in stature, and squalid in their appearance ; indeed, the price of these slaves shews the value of human beings in *free India* ; a man and his wife will cost from six to eight pounds ; if two or three children, from two pounds ten shillings to three pounds in addition, and these are not ferocious woolly headed savages, but mild, inoffensive, effeminate creatures, with human hair, whose creed is : it is painful to walk, that lying down is better than sitting, that sleep is better still, but death the best of all. If these poor creatures, to use Mr. Smith's expression at your meeting, have no aptitude for work, then how hard, how much more wretched is their situation than the sturdy, well-fed, athletic negro in the West Indies ?

" I cannot, for a moment, suppose you seek personal aggrandizement and wealth from an extension of commerce with India, and that in the attainment of that object you are cool and indifferent to the interests of the lawful proprietors of West India estates ; I acquit you of so mean, so selfish a plan, but this I do most conscientiously believe, that true philanthropy would be more clearly evidenced by petitioning the Commons' House of Parliament for relief to our starving weavers and manufacturers, for the abolition of the restrictions upon the importation of corn, for the extension of education and employment to our half-clothed, half-starved, and industrious willing brethren of Ireland, who are almost brutalized by neglect and indifference, for an extension of the liberty of the press, and release to the captives who are imprisoned in dungeons for mere difference of opinion. True philanthropy, Sir, would pray that the affairs of this country, and happiness of its inhabitants, should not be blown about at the mercy of a flimsy, artificial medium, such as the paper currency, which prostrates the happiness of the people at the shrine of bankers and directors, at the same time holding forth inducements to greedy speculators and monopolizers, as well as to criminals, whose lives have been sacrificed so frequently for the protection and maintenance of the baseless fabric.

" Were you, Sir, to found a petition to the House of Commons, beseeching the interference of Government between the invading and barbarous Turk, and the suffering, yielding Greek, disinterested pure philanthropy would be demonstrated beyond a doubt ; there we behold men, women, and children exposed to all the hor-

rors of famine and the sword, defending their properties and lives to the last gasp, but no helping hand is stretched out to their assistance, no voice raised to stop the indiscriminate massacre of the noblest and most beautiful of the human species. Oh! 'tis a shame to genius, to philanthropy! to Great Britain, to America, that the voice of your brothers' blood should cry unheard, unregarded from the ground! That the isles of Greece should resound with the groans and shrieks of the struggling, dying children of liberty, that the inhabitants of the isles of Britain should stand unmoved, and regardless as the rocks that surround their shores!

"Before putting this letter to press, allow me to call your attention to the state of affairs in Blackburn; there we see ten thousand unemployed industrious men, rendered furious by distress, and madly destroying machinery and factories: the military are called in, and what a scene is this exhibiting at the very time you are deliberating in public assembly, upon relieving negroes, who are without distress, who are well fed, cheerful, and generally speaking, happy.

"Apologising for the disjointed and hasty manner of this communication, and recommending the matter thereof to your serious consideration,

"I subscribe myself, Sir, your's truly,

"A FRIEND TO GENERAL EMANCIPATION."

"April 26, 1826.

VICE SOCIETY.

The following Correspondence is taken from an old newspaper and is a specimen of the character of the Vice Society at its commencement:—

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE, AND SOME YOUNG LADIES.

We are assured that the following very curious Correspondence is genuine:—

(A COPY.)

No. 9, Vigo-lane, Piccadilly, May 29, 1809.

YOUNG LADIES,

(Peace be among you!)

I am directed by one of the Worshipful Governors of the So-

ciety for the Suppression of Vice, to intimate to you, that he had the pain to witness one of you wilfully and unnecessarily profaning the Holy Sabbath, at the hour of three yesterday, by working at her needle, in the window of your apartment, thereby breaking the Commandments of God Almighty, and setting an evil example to others to do so likewise; it is one commandment to keep holy the Sabbath; it is another not to steal—you think it sinful to steal, and why is it not sinful to break the Sabbath? the first commandment is from God, as well as the last. Then “Go thy way and sin no more, and thy sin shall be forgiven thee.” This much from the Governor. I would now say a few words to you from myself—“God made man upright, but he hath found out many inventions;”—and “God made man after his own image,” but not to be squeezed into the figure of a spider or a wasp, as if the head and tail had no connection with each other;—put away your corselets, and your whalebones, and your iron busks, and your double laces; they are an abomination to the Lord; they are the ruin of his handy-work. If you would be beautiful, be what you are; shaped by the hand of the Creator of the Universe, who hath made the Angels as he made you, perfect in symmetry after the express image of his own person—Angels do not wear corselets, neither do they gird their loins—they do not wear their stomachs in their mouths, nor their bowels in their sandals—but “grace is in all their steps, Heaven in their eyes, in all their gestures dignity and love.” This was said of the Parent Mother—but then she wore no corselets—Whatever is natural is beautiful, and whatever is beautiful is lovely. Do not spurn this advice, which would teach you to be good and to be beautiful. “Angels are happier than men, because they are better.”

Praying to God that this admonition may prove salutary,

I am, Ladies, faithfully,
Your fellow-labourer in the Vineyard,
SAMUEL THACKERY.

Secretary to the Society for the Suppression of Vice.

To Young Ladies, names unknown.

TO THE GOVERNORS.

In answer to yours, I inform you we are Jewesses, and keep our Sabbath the day (God) appointed holy—by working, when you choose to rest; we commit no sin, therefore, in that respect, have none to be forgiven. Should you be unacquainted with the Jewish Law, I beg leave to refer you to the Bible; if then unable to satisfy yourself, my father is a Hebrew teacher, and capable of giving you any information relative to our religion, or your own. I am sincerely sorry you should be uneasy respecting the preser-

vation of our souls; as, I assure you, we are well acquainted with the Commandment, and not only observe the one, included in the Ten commanded to all nations, but six hundred and thirteen; be therefore perfectly happy on our account; we sacredly perform the tenets of our religion, consequently our conscience must be perfectly at rest.

TO THE SECRETARY.

Had you confined yourself to religion, ignorance of the Jewish law might have been considered a sufficient excuse for your unnecessary letter; still I cannot help thinking, that the Governor and Secretary of a religious order might better have employed themselves than gazing in the apartments of ladies; as Gentlemen, politeness should have taught them better. Respecting the dress now worn by ladies, it is certainly a curious subject for a divine; still it requires an answer. Permit me to say, you cannot be perfectly correct in your observations, as corselets form no part of a female's attire; however, examine your dictionary, and you will not only perceive your error in that part of your letter, but in several others, as you doubtless retain a copy. Iron busks we have never seen, therefore never worn; as for double laces, be assured we have a very large family, and find it sufficiently expensive to purchase single ones. Your next observation we just pass over in silence, it not being a subject sufficiently delicate for a lady to reply to: your compliment we shall most assuredly accept, not allowing ourselves for one moment to suppose a divine would flatter. The passage you quoted from Milton we think extremely beautiful, but not at all applicable to the subject in question. Nobody, I assure you, admires Eve more than we do; still you must agree with us, that the fashion has so much altered since she graced this terrestrial sphere, that it would be utterly impossible to accept her as a pattern for dress. Permit me to give you a little advice, in return for yours. Make yourself better acquainted with that lady's costume; then reflect, ere you advise females to attire only as she did, whether or no, in the present enlightened age, your doctrine would not be considered as erroneous. One observation more—Supposing it had been a family, who had so acted through necessity, as we are not to judge by the external appearance, does your Society, in the suppression of vice, relieve the cause from whence it proceeds? With all due veneration, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves,

Yours, with the greatest respect,

FAIR PLAY AT LAST AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.

MR. J. G. WARD, of Yarmouth, has published in a separate pamphlet, those letters of his with my notes, which have appeared in "The Republican" on the subject of the *age of Christianity*, and on that of *Josephus*, the alleged Jewish historian, *having been a Christian*. I notice it as *fair play*; because, unlike Mr. Beard, he has printed the controversy as a whole. Mr. Beard suppressed my notes, and that was the more unpardonable, because they were not calculated to be printed separately from his letters. I award more candour and fair dealing to Mr. Ward, and, in return, shall do all I can for the sale of his pamphlet.

Mr. Ward, I am informed by a Yarmouth correspondent, shouted victory; and the printing of the correspondence at his own expence, seems like a confidence in the superiority of his arguments and data. The Reverend Robert Taylor was the first to read Mr. Ward's first letter to me, in London, and his observation on it was, that the letter was not worth answering nor printing: that the notion of Josephus having been a Christian was so novel and groundless, as not to merit notice. I had promised to print on getting the cost of carriage covered, so I printed; but as to answering the letter, I really did not think it serious and important enough to require it.

I congratulate Mr. Ward on his victory, and hope that he will follow it up with new efforts in the same line. We want discussion; we want stimulants to thought; and these local stimulants always produce more extensive local good: for instance, I suppose that Mr. Ward's pamphlet will excite more thought in Yarmouth, upon its subject matter, than any thing that I could have written or printed in London could have excited. If truth be our mutual aim, I claim a share in his triumph.

But the question of Josephus having been a Christian of Mr. Ward's definition, if worth an answer, can be easily answered. I admit, that he, in some degree, with Philo, made my Christianity his study. If Philo and Josephus were Christians, it was upon my definition of Christianity, and not on that of Dr. Jones and Mr. Ward.

From the earliest authenticated records that we have of mankind, we have a history of philosophy. Indeed, philosophy is implied in the fact of recording the actions of mankind. The recorded history of man is the philosophy of man: and the historians have always claimed superiority among men as philosophers. Philosophy has its degrees: it is vastly superior now to what it ever was among the Grecians, and still the philosophers are but few.

Philosophy was much talked of among the Grecians, and from

the Grecians, it appears, that Philo and Josephus studied what was then known. The Grecian philosophers are well known to have allegorized the principle of reason and to have deified it. They might not have been original in this matter, but we have no immediate records which carry the matter distinctly beyond them, inasmuch as we have no authentic records beyond those of the Grecians. The morals of Confucius represent reason as a divine emanation: the allegory of the forbidden fruit, in the book of Genesis, runs upon the same strain. Josephus exhibits many parts of the Jewish scriptures as allegories, and more particularly the Temple of Solomon, which, as in modern masonry, he so allegorizes, as to make it emblematical of all the perfections of reason and human happiness: and masonic examination has convinced me that the much boasted temple of Solomon, at Jerusalem, is a fiction, an allegory, and never had real existence as a piece of architecture.

The philosophers of Greece formed themselves into sects upon different systems, without the capacity critically to examine the systems of each other; and for two centuries before the Christian era, that of Plato, who exhibited all the human passions and qualifications allegorically, predominated. In this system, the nucleus of Christianity is visible, and Philo and Josephus were certainly Christians as far as they followed the philosophy of Plato or of any other Grecian; but not Christians with relation to the Christianity now established by law in this country. We have a Christianity established by law, and none but that deserves to be called Christian. That is the standard for reference, though ill-founded, and all others are heresies, ephemeral systems, that do not merit the critical acumen of the irreligious philosopher.

Was Josephus a Christian according with any of the established Christian churches that have existed? This is the fair question between Mr. Ward and myself. Mr. Ward's Christianity might be like mine, and, if so, we have no dispute about the Christianity of Josephus.

Josephus studied and loved philosophy, such as he found it in his day. He appears to have embraced what in his day was considered its highest state, and that was a slight variation of the philosophy of Plato. The same may be truly said of Philo; but to say that they were Christians of the modern stamp, to say that they literally adopted the later tale of Christ crucified, is to outrage all comparison, inference, and just conclusion.

R. G.

ULTIMATE DANGER OF INVESTING PROPERTY IN
THE PUBLIC FUNDS, BRITISH OR FOREIGN.

THERE are many who feel so secure in funded property, as to prefer it to all other security. The facility with which this sort of property can be commanded for immediate use makes it pleasing, and the variation of price is not considered more hazardous than the variation of price or hazard of any other sort of property.

Thus far there seems to be reason and fair argument. But there is a contingent question always approaching what is called funded property, which is, that of the existence of a *real* property in that which is called *funded* property. Is it any thing more than the property of credit, depending upon the success of speculation in trade? If it be a property of no greater substance than this, a failure to pay dividends would become an extinction of the principal invested. This seems now to be the case with the bonds of the loans made to the Spanish Cortes, and to the new republics of South America. The most solid of those republics, Columbia, has ceased to pay the dividends or interest due on the loans made: and there is not the least security but that the same event may befall all other funds, and even the British funds, before another year be gone by. This sort of property has so baseless a foundation, that there must ultimately be an extinction of the whole, and a crack in one part is likely to be the speedy certainty of the fall of the whole fabric. The present too is a period of difficulties such as are not likely to be surmounted but in a reduction of taxation, a reduction that cannot be effectually made without a reduction of the nominal value of that funded property, and *that* a reduction which is likely to shake the foundation of the whole funding system, British and Foreign. Funded property is not the thing that will linger through a slow extinction; its fall will be sudden and of course to the holders of its papers disastrously unexpected.

Funded property is a debt wherein the honour and credit of no individual is concerned as to payment. A well disposed individual, who speculates on credit, will pay to his last shilling; but a Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the members of the legislature as a whole, may extinguish a funded property for the benefit of the nation, or from the necessities of the state, and retire as honourable men with ample and untouched private fortunes. This will be the end of the thing; but we cannot say in what year that end will come. The national debt is like the debt of a parent that is not to be levied on the freehold property which falls to the son. The land is a national freehold and cannot be mortgaged in limine. Every young man in England can say I am no party to the accumulation of this debt, and, in that condition, I do not feel in ho-

nour bound to pay any portion of it. It is nobody's debt. The debtors are dead or nearly dead; but so far as it can be shewn that a property has been made of the accumulation of this debt, so far should that property be applied to its extinction. You may also avail yourselves of all the corporate property in the country, all that is not an investment in commerce, all that is not in reality individual property. As the debt is a corporate property, as the corporation heroes have been the chief supporters of the system that has accumulated the debt, let all corporate property, that of the church included, be applied towards its liquidation.

There is one thing as certain as death to mankind: the debt of this country cannot be paid through the medium of taxation. The system of taxation now carrying on to pay the interest cannot be much longer carried on, therefore, the payment of the principal is no longer a question: it cannot be paid in any other shape than as a bankrupt's compounding with his creditors. It is nobody's debt. I do not feel that I ought to contribute any thing toward the payment of either principal or interest. I cannot allow that the fundholder has a claim upon me. I have entered into no contract with him, either in person or by my representative. What then is the claim of the fundholder upon me, other than the claim of tyranny which takes my earnings at its discretion? The legislature may tax me toward the payment of the interest of this debt and I must pay or leave the country; but come another kind of legislature that will not tax the people for this purpose, and will the people voluntarily tax themselves to pay the interest of this alarming nominal debt? Not they. The debt and the payment of the interest of that debt is an affair depending on the breath of a peculiar kind of House of Commons; such a house as we now have; but let the current once turn against the debt and away it will go leaving not a name behind. Three years would erase all the effects of the extinction and render it almost forgotten.

R. C.

JULY THE NINETEENTH.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE CORONATION OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THE bells are ringing, because the reigning king was crowned on this day! How ridiculous the fancied festival! What a fuss about a trifle! The ringers are but a part of the machinery that makes the noise and not to be blamed. They are working at their trade. But who pays them? Vicar or the parishioners? This is the most important part of the thing. Who pays? Am I to contribute my mite toward the coronation peel? or is this tax to be paid exclusively by those who rejoice on the occasion? Rejoice! There is

no rejoicing beyond the ringers. But for the noise of the bells, a tenth part of the tradesmen in Fleet Street would not have remembered that it was coronation day. No greetings, no conversations, no feastings pass upon the subject. To day, the bells ring because we have a king; a few years hence and some ears will hear these same bells ringing because England has no longer the burthen and taxation of a king. Perhaps the same ringers if they are young men, will be the agents to pull the ropes on a new occasion. Nothing more likely. Long life to George the Fourth and may he outlive all who claim hereditary right to his office. A very good toast for the royal and loyal, for all who like good order: my toast, though a dry one.

I have a sincere respect for the passive royalty of the present king and honestly wish him a long life, heartily wish that he may survive all his heirs. The expence of coronations is one reason why I wish this, and another is that I fear the Duke of Clarence was not sincere enough in his declaration, that when he came to the throne, he would *unship the bishops*. I like the passiveness of the present King as preferable to the probable royal activity of York and Clarence. Ignorant men make bad reformers and the more active they are the more mischief they do.

The taxation of the country is working round a crisis, and distress promises to be the only availing tocsin for a change. When it comes, I have only to hope that it will be effectual, and that nothing desirable may be left for further change. Then will be the crowning day: then the day for the grand coronation peel.

R. C.

ANECDOTES OF THOMAS PAINE AND NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

(Taken from Redhead Yorke's "*Travels through France and Switzerland*.")

WHEN Buonaparte returned from Italy to Paris, to take the command of that army of France with whose left wing he afterwards set off to conquer the department of the Thames on the burning sands of Egypt, he called on Mr. Paine, and invited him to dinner. In the course of his rapturous ecstasies, he declared that a statue of gold ought to be erected to him in every city of the universe; he also assured him that he always slept with his book* under his pillow, and conjured him to honour him with his correspondence and advice.

When the military council at Paris, who directed all the movements of Buonaparte, (though *he* has the merit of them) came to a serious consultation about the invasion of England, Mr. Paine

* The Rights of Man.

was invited to assist at the sitting. After they had ransacked and examined all the plans, charts, and projects of the old Government, Buonaparte submitted to them the propriety of hearing what Citizen Paine had to say upon the subject. But I should have stated that, without one dissenting voice, they were all of opinion, that the measure was impracticable, dangerous even in idea, and still more so in the attempt. General D'Arcon, a celebrated engineer,* was one of the council, and present on the occasion. He laughed at the project, and said, that all those plans and schemes had better be made cartridge-paper of; for there was no Prince Charles (meaning the Pretender) now-a-days: and that they might as well attempt to invade the moon as England with its superior fleet at sea. "Oh!" exclaimed Buonaparte, "but there will be a fog!"—"Ah!" replied D'Arcon, "and there will be an English fleet in that fog!" "Cannot we pass?" said Buonaparte. "Doubtless," answered the other, "by diving twenty fathoms under water:" then looking stedfastly at the hero, "General," said he, "the earth is our own, but not the sea. We must recruit our fleets before we can hope to make any impression on England; and even then the enterprize would be fraught with perdition, unless we could raise a division amongst the people!" Then Buonaparte—"That is the very point I mean: here is Citizen Paine, who will tell you, that the whole English nation, except the Royal Family, and the Hanoverians who have been created peers of the realm, and absorb the greatest part of the land property, are ardently burning for fraternization."

Paine, being called upon, said, "It is now several years since I have been in England, and therefore I can only judge of it by what I knew when I was there. I think the people are very disaffected, but I am sorry to add, that, if the expedition should escape the fleet, I think the army would be cut in pieces. The only way to kill England is to annihilate her commerce." This opinion was backed by all the council; and Buonaparte turning to Paine, asked how long he thought it would take to annihilate the English commerce; Paine answered, that every thing depended upon a peace.

From that hour, Buonaparte never spoke to him; and when he had finished his adventures in Egypt, and had stolen back to France, he passed by him at the grand dinner that was given to the Generals of the Republic, a short time before his usurpation, staring him in the face, and saying to General Lasnes, in the hearing of Paine, "The English are all alike in every country—They are all rascals!"

* He directed the siege of Gibraltar, in the American war.

TO MR. CARLILE FOR "THE REPUBLICAN."

LETTER VI.

SIR,

THE object of the commission which our Lord gave to his Apostles to convert the nations was to destroy idolatry,¹ and its debasing effects. This commission was executed in Egypt, as well as in the other provinces of the Roman empire. The persons executing it assumed the new name of *Therapeutæ*, intimating by it the moral power of reforming the world, with which they were possessed, and the worship of the one true God as its foundation. Philo on noticing this circumstance immediately subjoins a specimen of the energy and eloquence with which the preachers of the Gospel assailed the contemptible divinities of Egypt. "The materials of idols and statues," says he, "are wood and stone, entirely rude and shapeless, till they were conveyed from their native place, and invested with form by the hands of the artist. Substances of the same quarry, or of the same stone, are often destined for less honourable services, being wrought into pots or tubs, or into such still meaner vessels as are used in darkness rather than in the light. The Gods of the Egyptians it is disgraceful even to name. These people have raised to divine honours not only brute animals that are tame, but the fiercest of every kind under heaven, which the earth, the sea, or the air can supply—the lion, the crocodile, the hawk, and the ibis. They worship these creatures, though known to be produced, to stand in need of support, to be insatiate for food, to be full of excrements, to be prone to poison the blood and devour the flesh of man, and to be liable to perish by various diseases, death, and violence. By such debasement the laws of reason and nature are inverted; for civilized and reasonable beings bow before fierce and irrational creatures—they who bear the image of God prostrate before monsters which are not on a level with the beasts of the field; and animals which nature intended to fear and obey, receive homage and submission from their lords and masters." Representations eloquent, powerful, like these, must have produced very sensible effects even on the debased natives of Egypt; nor could the adversaries of the Christians by any means counteract them but by having recourse to force and persecution. The priest, the scribe, the artist, and the magistrate, when too much hardened by the deceitfulness of sin to reform, too proud

¹ What is Christianity but idolatry? Where is the reality of the God or Gods which the Christians worship? Idolatry indeed! All religion is idolatry; and the idolatry of the Christians is by no means an improvement on the general idolatry of the Pagans.—R. C.

to learn, and too worldly-minded to resign the love of gain, necessarily influenced the populace against the authors of such reasonings, and instigated them to violence. Flaccus was now prefect of Egypt, and the Jews at this time had, under his government and the sanction of the Emperor Tiberius, enjoyed not only every privilege, not only protection in person and property from an impartial administration of justice, but peace, prosperity, and respect, in an unexampled degree. Jesus foretold his disciples that he came to send on the earth not peace but a sword; to arm man against man; to divide the son against his own father; the daughter against her mother; and to make the enemies of man the members of his own household.² While this proved true in every place where the Pagan system was attacked, it was pre-eminently verified in Egypt, a country debased beyond all others by ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. Philo, who was an agent in the scenes that ensued, thus describes them:—"Flaccus after this permitted every man that had a mind to plunder and destroy the Jews, as if they were captives taken in war. And what was the conduct of those who received this permission? The city being divided into five parts, two of these were appropriated chiefly to the Jews; nor were the three other destitute of Jewish inhabitants. Of these they were deprived, and forced into one very small portion, which being unable to contain but comparatively a few, the multitude rushed in torrents to the shores, into burying-grounds, and into desert places, there to abide, though now deprived of all their goods. Their enemies finding their houses thus defenceless, entered and plundered them, and divided the goods among themselves without any restraint or compunction. They also broke open the shops and work-houses, and carrying out whatever things they found valuable, divided them in the market-place, as if they were the rightful owners. In consequence of this cruelty, the Jews were unable to follow their daily business; and they were exposed to famine, not less by being deprived of their goods, than being prevented to enjoy the fruits of their accustomed employments."

The sufferings of the Jews in this situation, according to Philo, exceeded all description: and these sufferings were aggravated by the consideration, that the want under which they laboured was surrounded by plenty, the country that year having been unusually productive, and that they were caused by a people who a little before were their friends, and who became their enemies by those very means which ought to have perpetuated their friendship. "Being unable," continues he, "any longer to bear hunger, some went about to their friends and relatives begging a little bread; others disdaining to beg, as ignoble and servile, ventured to the market-

² Better that he had never come. Better that the system of Christianity had never existed.—R. C.

place to purchase necessities for themselves and families. These unhappy people were immediately seized and destroyed by the mob, being trampled to death, or dragged through the streets till their bodies were torn to pieces and scattered, so that not a limb remained to be interred. Thousands perished in various other ways, equally cruel and savage, their persecutors raving as if they assumed the nature of ferocious beasts. For wherever any of the Jews appeared, they wounded them with stones or clubs, taking care not to strike them in a vital part, lest instantaneous death might relieve them from a sense of pain. Some of these persecutors, confident of impunity, and actuated by passion, disdained the use of blunter weapons, and had recourse to fire and iron, burning some, and slaying many more with the sword. Whole families, children with their parents, husbands with their wives, were consumed by flames in the midst of the city, no compassion being taken on the aged, the young, or on innocent children, by their most unmerciful foes. When wood was wanting, they collected fuel, and caused the sufferers to perish by the smoke more frequently than by the flames, thus artfully effecting a most painful and lingering death to their unhappy victims, whose bodies in heaps lay half consumed, a shocking and most painful spectacle. If those sent to gather fuel were slow, they set fire to the utensils which had been plundered, and on these burnt their owners. Many of those who still lived they tied by the leg above the ankle, dragging them and treading upon them, till they met that cruel death which was meditated against them. Nor did they satiate their fury by this treatment of the living; but pursued with unrelenting vengeance even the bodies which they had deprived of life, having torn their skin, flesh, and sinews, and dissevered their limbs by hauling them along the ground."³

The perpetrators of these cruelties sometimes personated the sufferers, and exhibited a mock representation of them on the stage; while of those who had really suffered, such relatives or friends as were seen to weep from sympathy, were carried to execution, and there flogged and tortured on the wheel; and after sustaining all the indignities which their bodies could endure, were hung on the cross. No refinement in cruelty can seemingly add to the horrors of this frightful picture; yet Philo mentions one circumstance more as greatly enhancing the affliction of the Jews, and the unrelenting malice of Flaccus. Augustus had allowed the Alexandrian Jews to form a council, composed of 38 of their own elders, for the protection of their rights, and the administration of their own affairs. These distinguished persons,

³ All this may be put down to the vice of religion; but what has it to do with Christians or Christianity? They were Jews who so suffered, a people whose existence as a sect of idolators at that time is not questioned.—R. C.

whom the Jews regarded with the utmost veneration, Flaccus seized within their own walls, and having tied their arms behind with iron chains, he led them forth to the theatre, where he ordered them to be flogged in the presence of their enemies. The stripes which they endured were those usually received by the vilest criminals; and as they were inflicted with inexorable severity, some of those honourable sufferers fell dead on the spot, while others were carried out without any hopes of recovery. To aggravate these tortures, they were inflicted on the anniversary of the birth of Augustus, a season usually distinguished by festivity and clemency. "I have known," says Philo, "some that had been crucified, taken down from the cross on such seasons, and delivered to their relatives to be interred in a becoming manner; for it was fit to extend even to the dead some benefit from Cæsar's festival, and at the same time to preserve its solemnity unsullied by sorrow. But Flaccus, instead of taking down the dead, suspended the living; and this he did, after having, in the midst of the theatre, exposed them to stripes, to fire, and to the sword, a spectacle to entertain the populace." This disgraceful scene continued three or four hours each morning, during which the Jews were whipped, hung, and tortured on the wheel; and after receiving a mock trial, were led through the orchestra to execution. The exhibition concluded with dancing, mimicry, music, and similar entertainments. Philo, p. 977. On this narrative I shall now make a few observations.

1. Though Philo thus relates the cruel treatment which the Jews received from the people of Alexandria, he says not a word about the provocation that caused it, which must have been very great. The historian tells us, that the Jews and the Alexandrians had for many years been *friends*; and that the resentment of the latter had been awakened by a cause which in reason ought to have ensured their gratitude and friendship. All at the time knew what this cause must have been; Philo therefore thought it unnecessary to mention it; and it was no other than the attempt now made by the Jews to rescue the Egyptians from vice and idolatry, and bring them to the worship of the one true God, and to the hope of a future state as revealed in the Gospel. This Philo calls a consummate blessing, and he represents the people who were communicating it to the inhabitants of Egypt as engaged at the same time in disseminating it over every part of the globe.

2. As Jesus Christ was the primary author of the commotion, the persecutors had an eye to him when destroying the Jews. I will give one instance of the pointed reference which they had to him. A maniac called *Carabas* was well known at Alexandria. This man on one occasion the Alexandrians laid hold of; "and having placed him," says Philo, "on an eminence, they put upon his head a broad reed for a diadem, and covered his body with a

carpet instead of a scarlet robe, and withal placed a rush, picked up in the way, as a sceptre in his hand. Having thus invested him with the mock insignia of royalty, persons were introduced to him, some as if to salute him as a king. Then a loud cry was heard from the surrounding crowd, saluting him *Lord*.* The origin of this insult we thus read in the Gospel:—"Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common-hall, and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers, and they stripped him and put on him a scarlet robe. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, king of the Jews." This was exhibited before Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, who happened to pass through Alexandria: and the object doubtless was to insult him with the intimation, that instead of being, as he pretended, a real king, he and his countrymen were but subjects of one whose claims to royalty resembled those of Carabas, and who in consequence had been crucified at Jerusalem.

3. The Jews professed to believe in Jesus as a prince sent of God to emancipate them from servitude, and to erect among them the standard of universal freedom. This profession, no doubt, was considered by their enemies as a vain and insulting boast, who in their turn with more bitterness and poignancy, reminded them of their actual subjugation; and sometimes treated them as captives subject to the will of their conquerors, or as slaves at the disposal of their masters. The charge of being subject to the Romans, with which their adversaries stigmatized the Jews, could not be denied; and the necessity of explaining the nature of the freedom in which they gloried, appears to have been one of the leading circumstances which occasioned the two important publications of Philo in behalf of the Jewish and Egyptian believers. He retorts upon their persecutors the imputation of slavery; and shews that *they* were the worst of all slaves, by being the slaves of sin; and maintains, that the virtuous amongst the Jews enjoyed the noblest and most perfect freedom, in consequence of being endued by the Son of God with the freedom of the soul. He asserts that the man, whether Jew or Greek, whose mind is superior to the love of the world, and to the fear of death, and who by tortures could not be brought to commit a dishonourable deed, was free in the highest and most important sense, though a thousand despots might deem him as their slave. These refined and lofty sentiments did not originate with Philo. It formed a

* Or, pray Ben David, may not the fable of the Gospel have been borrowed from the real acting in the case of Carabas? Philo is an undoubted writer, a real historian; but what can be said for the authors of the Gospels? Who were they? When and where were they written?—R. C.

leading and fundamental principle in the Christian system. It was a saying of Jesus himself, 'If the son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.' The great Apostle of the Gentiles reminds his brethren that they have been called into *liberty*, and exhorts them to stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made them free: and for this reason the Gospel is emphatically called *the perfect law of liberty*."

4. Flaccus, the prefect, published several edicts to expel the Jews as strangers and intruders; and it appears that such of them as were not put to death, or made their escape, were, agreeably to public notice, sold as slaves to the highest bidder. To these notices Philo thus alludes: and the allusion shews that from that day to this Christianity never had a more intrepid; more magnanimous; more heavenly minded champion than Philo.—"The writings," (says he, page 887) "entitled the *Sale*, are beneath ridicule and contempt, and sink under the magnanimity of the man against whom they are published, like blank waste paper, which age or moth or stain destroys." In a subsequent page he adds, "It is therefore meet, that good men should say to him who is about to buy them, 'Buy us, and we will teach thee sobriety of mind;' to him who threatens to banish us to a foreign clime, 'The whole earth is our country;' to him who deprives them of their goods, 'We are content with little.' Nor are we inferior to those who combat in the public games. They are not frightened with things like these; though they fight for a prize which is but a shadow of our high reward, and which gives them only firmness and strength of *body*; whereas the glory set before us arms us with strength of *mind*, and steels us against every sense of pain."

5. Our Lord, by his instruction and example, taught his disciples to be firm to their principles; and not to shrink from an avowal of their faith in the face of danger and of death. Multitudes of them acted up to this instruction: and hence when they were brought to execution and pardon offered to them by complying with any of the forms of Paganism, however equivocal or insignificant, they boldly refused. This excited the greatest surprise in their enemies, and brought upon them the charge of *obstinacy*. This charge is made by Pliny: "Such as still persisted (to profess themselves Christians) I ordered away to be executed; for it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opinion, that *contumacy* and *inflexible obstinacy* ought to be punished." The very same charge is made by Epictetus, and afterwards by Julian, who calls the Christians *Galileans*, and even the philosophic Emperor Marcus Antoninus, lib. ii. sec. 3, mentions the Christians as suffering death from *mere obstinacy*. The two books which Philo published in defence of the Christians place them in this interesting point of light. He supposes the

notoriety of the sufferings to which they voluntarily submitted, and boldly defends them from the imputation of obstinacy.⁵ The author, with uncommon eloquence and energy, exhorts the sufferers as persevering in support of their principles; and justifies them in undergoing the fiercest tortures rather than giving up their spiritual freedom. The line of argumentation which he adopts was that which seemed best adapted to impress his Pagan readers. Instead of recurring to the Jewish writings for examples to justify the sufferers, he appeals to those philosophers whom the Greeks themselves read and admired; and shews that their sayings and example, in many instances, breathed the same magnanimity; the same noble love of freedom; the same contempt of danger and of death, which the Christian Jews were displaying in Egypt and Palestine. These works suppose that the reformers of the world suffered tortures and even death in support of their principles; and that they were deemed by their persecutors foolish and obstinate for so doing. Philo refutes this accusation: he represents their profession as a *prize*, as a *conflict*, in which defeat was disgraceful, and the victory far surpassing the glory of those who fought and conquered in the Olympic games.

6. The Jews who survived the persecution withdrew from the city, and sought shelter in dens, in solitary places, and in the wilderness. Thither they were driven, as Philo represents, in torrents. The book of the Revelation, while in general it delineates the yet future state of the Church, is in many parts founded on facts which had already taken place. Of this kind is the following passage, the force of which will be immediately felt when compared with the account which Philo gives of the Christians, and their escape to the wilderness to avoid persecution: "And when the dragons saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the male child; and to the woman were given two wings, that she might fly into the wilderness into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times and half from the face of the serpent. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood. And the earth helped the woman; and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth. And the dragon was wrath with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandment of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ," chap. 12, 13. The Egyptians had ever been worshippers of the serpent, and are represented under the figure of the dragon or serpent. The woman

⁵ All sects, all martyrs to their opinions or systems have been alike on this head. It is a point that will prove nothing for Jew or Christian, Catholic or Protestant, Quaker or Hindu.—R. C.

means the Christian Church;⁶ and the earth helped her, not only because the believers found a refuge from persecution in the wilderness, but as given to agriculture they derived from the earth the means of subsistence.

7. Here we see the origin of *monastic institutions*. Philo describes them, and gives them the very name of *monasteries*. The first believers in Egypt and Palestine became *monks*⁷ and *hermits* from compulsion and not from choice; and thus the gross superstition which afterwards from this source disgraced Christianity, originated in the violence and cruelties with which it was at first assailed.

8. Philo has a passage on this subject which I particularly recommend to your notice, Mr. Carlile, and that of the learned Secretary; and I desire him to produce the authority of Philo the next time he draws a character of those who believe in Christ. After giving an account of the believers in Palestine and Egypt, and painting their virtues in such colours as the world never till then beheld, he anticipated the question which the adversary might put, "Whether any men then really existed, or even had existed, that could realize the character which he was delineating?" Philo answers, "I may well reply, that in former times certain men flourished, who having God for their guide, excelled all their contemporaries in virtue; and who living conformably to the divine law, which is also the law of reason and nature, not only became themselves free, but filled all around them with the same manly freedom. And in our own days, there are men, who, as images of the same high original, have copied the fair and honourable conduct of those wise patriarchs. For we are not to suppose that, because the souls of our adversaries are themselves destitute of spiritual freedom, as being the slaves of folly and bad passions, all men are incapable of the same elevated virtue. If such persons do not appear like flocks in vast numbers, it cannot be deemed strange; first, because great moral excellence, like every other excellence, is rare; and, secondly, because they pursue truth in retirement, remote from vulgar eyes, wishing, if it be possible, to come forth and reform the world: for virtue, by its very nature, is disposed to benefit the community. But as they are not able to effect this purpose, on account of the mad prejudices and vices which have overspread society, and which have been deeply rooted in the public mind, they have retired, and in solitude sought shelter from the persecution which, with the violence of a flood after a tempest, threatened to sweep them

⁶ See the researches of Sampson Arnold Mackey upon this subject.—R. C.

⁷ It may be so; but they were not Christians who first led a monastic life.—R. C.

away. And we, if we have any zeal for reformation, should pursue them to their retreat, and supplicate them to return, that their presence might prove instrumental in healing the monstrous disorders, which like wild beasts overrun the world, offering them peace and liberty, and other earthly blessings instead of assailing them with war and slavery, and other innumerable evils."—Vol. ii. p. 455, or 877.

Here we see the followers of Jesus placed in a very interesting point of light. The sublimity in moral virtue to which they had attained, appeared incredible to those who opposed and persecuted them. They were the reformers and benefactors of the world. They wished, if possible, to live in the midst of society, and diffuse over it, by their example and instruction the blessings of peace, order, and virtue. But the enemies of truth and moral improvement assailed them "with war and slavery, and other innumerable evils;" and they were obliged to seek shelter in solitude, lest they should be swept away by persecution as by a flood after a violent tempest. This is the flood which the author of the Revelation in figurative language represents the votaries of the serpent as casting after the Christian Church, when flying into the wilderness, that they might cause her to be carried away of the flood. Philo well knew the state of the heathen world in regard to virtue and real knowledge, and especially that of the Egyptians, among whom he lived. He speaks of it as a savage state, overrun with monstrous disorders, as with wild beasts; and in another place he declares it impossible to reform men without the especial assistance and wisdom of God. He, therefore, supposes the holy men, of whom he speaks, to be possessed of this peculiar wisdom and assistance; and he earnestly prays for their return to society, that their presence might illumine and regenerate mankind. This is a glorious representation of the character of the primitive Christians; and triumphantly sets aside the character which the Rev. Mr. Taylor has lately given of them; as well as the account which Gibbon gives of them, as *false* and *calumnious* in the extreme, representing them as neither agreeable nor useful in this world, and their virtues as only a mean and timid repentance for former sins, and an impetuous zeal in supporting the reputation of a rising sect.

My object in these letters is first to gather well attested facts respecting Christianity, and then argue for its divine origin. My enquiry will comprehend, in addition to Philo, Josephus, Seneca, Plutarch, Tacitus, Pliny, Celsus, and Lucian. These are the most competent authorities, having flourished in the first century, or in the beginning of the second; and my aim is to lay open in these writers, friends and foes of the Gospel, a fund of evidence hitherto little known; which, in opposition to its enemies, shall prove its truth to the end of time.^{*}

BEN DAVID.

^{*} Bravo, Ben David.—R. C.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

LETTER XXVI.

62, Fleet Street, July 14, 1826.

THE Republican requires something like a finish of those letters which I have begun to address to you. I can adduce but little further from your "Notes on the Book of Common Prayer" that is high enough for criticism. While I was in the Gaol, I had different grounds whereon to notice your observations; but now, I confess, that I think them scarcely worth notice. Still, as I am about to conclude "The Republican," I must make a conclusion of my letters to you.

I congratulate you on the wisdom which the men in authority have acquired, in ceasing from persecuting those who impugn (as by law allowed) the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. This is always the result of having to maintain a bad cause. Your mortification must have been great to see that divine religion, which you maintained on the bench with the asperity of a political partizan, fall before the plain attacks of a few individuals, who have no college education whereof to boast. You may see, that neither its God, its Priests, its Judges, or its Public Prosecutors, could maintain a doctrine that has no foundation in truth.

I have no disposition to insult your grey hairs, nor to ridicule your infirmities, indeed you have exhibited but few infirmities on any subject but on that of religion. My purpose is public instruction, and that which I have struggled for successfully is to instruct the public on matters that are useful to be known, and not in systems and established doctrines that fall before investigation, that arose without it, and that cannot be supported either with or without persecution. Common Serjeant Denman told Humphrey Boyle, that, though such publications as mine might be intended to instruct the public, they could not be tolerated at present. What does he now think of the matter? You, Mr. Justice Bailey, were rash enough to interrupt Mrs. Wright in the course of her arguments to shew why no punishment should be inflicted upon her; but what have you done by so doing? You have given zest to a discourse that is spreading all over the earth. Praises of it have flown back across the Atlantic; and whoever reads it discerns the staring motive by which you were induced to stop its being read in court. Mrs. Wright has suffered all sorts of afflictions, as the consequence of your conduct and sentence, and is now as a widow with two children about to try to maintain herself in her native town of Nottingham by the sale of books.

I was not abashed when Mr. Justice Best in the Court of King's Bench proclaimed me a specimen of the folly of a client's defending himself in that Court. I saw the affair in a very dif-

ferent light, and that the worst sentence that could be uttered by a defendant in such a case has more weight with the public than any thing that a lawyer would say in the matter. When on a motion for a new trial, I was talking about the imperfections of the English translation of the Bible, I knew that it would weigh nothing with the Court; but I knew that it would weigh a great deal with the readers of English newspapers, to have a single argument for the invalidity of the Bible reported. However foolish you, Judges, might have thought my argument, you see that I have outwitted you all on the grand point for which I was struggling. How different must your feelings have been between the act of 1819, in issuing a writ of *levari facias* to rob me of all the property I had accumulated, and the act of 1826, by which you were made to give me back the remains of it? Very pretty work for judges! was not this prosecution and persecution? I give Judge Abbott credit for foresight in the matter; but the rash and blind Eldon, Castlereagh, and Sidmouth did not understand what they were about to do, when they insisted on the prosecution of the publisher of "The Age of Reason."

The matter is now settled. The right to publish "The Age of Reason" is become a part and parcel of the common law of the land. Christianity, which was called a part and parcel of the common law of the land, when fairly examined, has been found to be an indefinite term, and not understood by any person so as to be made a part and parcel of law. You see, Mr. Justice Bailey, that all your judicial consequence could not give weight to a fable, even to a divine fable. In vain, did you say, "think what you please, but be silent:" We have thought on what subjects we pleased, and have not been silent; we have published the conclusions of our thoughts, and will publish them: so you may think what you please upon this matter, and be silent or talk as it may please you. We fear not your speech or pen, why do you fear us?

You have stated your conviction in your concluding note on the Book of Common Prayer that Christianity is God's work; this is indisputable, for the word *god* is hypothetical. Had you said it was the work of a goddess, your assertion would have conveyed the same amount of instruction, the same proof.

The notes of your book are, I find, beneath my criticism, now I can so much better employ my time out of the gaol; so I must make short work of them and probably make this my last letter to you upon this subject. Minor considerations I put aside, and say a few words to you upon the subject of what you call God. In a note on the book of Psalms, you quote Dr. Blair to say, that: "the descriptions of the Deity in the Psalms are wonderfully noble, both from *the grandeur of the object and the manner of representing it.*" Let us see. You also quote that grand poet Sternhold to tell us that:

" On cherubs and cherubim full royally he rode,
And on the wings of mighty winds came flying all abroad."

This comparison is that of an insect. Without stopping to enquire what sort of beasts of burden were cherubs and cherubim, we may be physically sure, that they were all of the insect tribe that could ride on the winds. Nothing but insects ride on clouds and winds; and we have not yet seen an animal body so far spiritualized, birds of feather excepted, to move by its own natural powers on anything so light as air. Instead of being magnificent, this comparison is low indeed, the lowest that could be made. Let us search for others:—

Psalm 3, ver. 7, " Up, Lord, and help me; O my God; for *thou smitest all mine enemies upon the cheek-bone; thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly.*"—Here, your God is described as a ruffianly pugilist, or laying about him as an Irishman with his shillelah; and what can be lower than either of this class of beings?

Psalm 9, ver. 19, " Up, Lord, and let not man have the upper hand."

Psalm 10, ver. 1, " Why standest thou so far off, O Lord; and hidest thy face in the needful time of trouble?"

Psalm 44, ver. 23, " Up, Lord, why sleepest thou: awake, and be not absent from us for ever."

Psalm 50, ver. 12, " If I be hungry I will not tell thee: for the whole world is mine, and all that is therein."

Psalm 68, ver. 6, " He is the God, that maketh man to be one of mind in an house." Where is he? Who is he? Such a god has never yet been found among men.

Psalm 68, ver. 24 and 25, " It is well seen, O God, how thou goest: how thou, my God and King, goest into the sanctuary. The singers go before; the minstrels follow after; in the midst are the damsels playing with the timbrels." *Magnificent!*

Though the writers of these Psalms said repeatedly that their God was superior to all other Gods, we may see, who can look at the matter impartially, that it was not so. We find him, described with all the human passions and made the image of those who described him. The Gods are alike as to rank: they are the creations of human fancy. This God of the Jews is clearly so. He fights, he sleeps, he hungers, and goes into a sanctuary with music.

There is one point worthy of notice; the idolators in making gods to suit their passions, always made them the authors or images of what little reason they possessed. To their physical notions of a Deity, they added all the moral notions of their distinctions from other animals. The God was made the author and emblem of the little reason possessed by the idolator. The name of spirit was given to reason, and the same to the God, and an association or sameness between the two asserted. The pheno-

mena of the moral powers of man were added to the phenomena of the physical powers of matter, and a God formed, which humanized what we call nature, and deified man, so as to form a relation between the power that created and the thing created, and to assert that the creator had created mankind in his own image, or as beings that were to equal him in powers and advantages. This is all a mistake. The whole theory of a God or Gods is a mistake. Design in creation is incomprehensible. The vastness of what we see of matter excludes all idea of a dependence upon that human or animal power which we call design. Intelligence, design, or will, is an animal power, and nowhere discernible in cause or effect, beyond the actions of animals. It is a weak power in comparison with the material arrangements of a planet or planets. It can guide a plough, turn the stream of a river, level a hill, make a mountain, fill up a valley, navigate the air or ocean, and produce great effects by the joint aid of labour and tools; but it can produce no effects by intelligence, design, or volition, without the joint aid of labour and tools. It can alter some of the minor arrangements of matter on the surface of the earth; but it cannot produce an effect on the motion of a planet. It cannot draw the moon one inch nearer to, nor expel it one inch farther from, the earth. What then is the ephemeral power of design when compared with the matter and motion of the planets of the solar system? A trifle, a bubble, that figures for a moment and bursts. There is nothing lasting in design or intelligence. It cannot produce an effect and guarantee the visibility of it as an identity for a century. We know of nothing that has a relation to that vague word eternity but matter and its motions. Atheism! you may cry. Truth! before any kind of Theism. If religion can only be supported by a lie, ought we to lie to support it? And if we do lie to support it, is not a lie of such magnitude a greater vice than one minor in its effects? O that I could converse with you, Mr. Justice Bailey. As soon as I have my house in order, I must leave you my card.

You have a note on the twenty-second Psalm which calls it a prediction of the history and crucifixion of Jesus Christ. I confess the similarity of the two narratives; but finding that the later one is a fable, I find no difficulty to account for its similarity with or relation to the former. You call the first a prediction: I call the second a copy. Let the sensible man determine which is the more probable conclusion of the two.

I see nothing more worthy of notice in your Notes on the Book of Common Prayer. They are neither calculated to moralize nor to instruct mankind. They exhibit devotion to a system of religion, but like all other devotion, it is mental weakness, a disease, a vice.

My letters to you were undertaken under the idea that you were one of my persecutors: and as the persecution has ceased,

it may be as well that the letters be carried no farther. I have gained my point: you have lost yours. I have honour; you have disgrace. I have pleasure; you must have pain. I have proved that your religion is not only a system to be impugned; but to be successfully impugned. What have you proved? My letters to you are not the least interesting part of "The Republican:" they are not without originality in matters of ecclesiastical history, of morals, of logic, of philosophy, and of physical science. They are not without wit, and had your Notes on the Book of Common Prayer any sale, I would publish my letters, separately from "The Republican," as a companion. I may do so as it is; but I have many more important things to do before it.

Your Christian Religion has encountered a warfare, from the effects of which it will never recover. Your Vice Society is prostrate on matters of religion. It has mistaken in what vice consisted. What has been called infidelity triumphs and has almost become the fidelity, the orthodox faith of the country. Make haste and come round, or you will be left an infidel. You doubted while a common Barrister; subscribed to the Vice Society, and shewed symptoms of belief or easy faith, when you were made Serjeant at Law; and, like the effects of Lord Byron's fevers, you were fully convinced, when you were seated on the bench of the Court of King's Bench. After these three motions of the spirit, you cannot scruple to change when the orthodoxy of the country changes, and come back to the point at which you honestly started. I can forgive you: can you forgive me, for working this change?

RICHARD CARLILE.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT, in his Register for the 15th inst. pays me a few compliments, in his usual way of calling names, where he lacks argument and other means of reply. I am a "monster," a "beast," and have published "infamies" of him. On the last point, the grammarian must have made a mistake; for I have not published my infamies of him; but I have published *his infamies*. Mr. Cobbett asks, what I will take to go to Blackburn, or Preston, or Bolton, and tell the people who I am. I will take forty shillings per day as travelling expences and pass a day or two in every town in Lancashire, after sending round the bellman to say I am there. I will carry the proposition farther; I will meet Mr. Cobbett in any town, or in every town, in Lancashire, and allow him to make the first speech to whatever number or class of people he or we can congregate, I will still carry the proposition

farther, and say that I will go at my own expence, on the condition of Mr. Cobbett's meeting me.

The excellent Mr. John Lawless, who last year was about the only Irishman worth Mr. Cobbett's notice, or the last noticed of the catholic association's deputation, has gone the way of all Mr. Cobbett's friends, he has been entered on Mr. Cobbett's black list and sent to that sort of perdition which proves that he is too honest a man to be long the friend or acquaintance of William Cobbett. Sir Thomas Beevor, if he have any independent spirit and highmindedness about him, must expect to share the same fate within a year.

Last week, Mr. Cobbett told us, that he had a remedy for all the evils of the country, and he said:—" *I have the details of that remedy down to the minutest provisions, drawn up in the shape of an Act of Parliament.*" I felt some doubt of the existence of such a document, when Mr. Cobbett said that no one should see it but those of his family. In such a matter, a good man would make the whole country his family. Among other papers, the Editor of the Morning Chronicle has ridiculed the pretensions of Mr. Cobbett on this head; and the great political quack doctor is furiously angry. But in his anger, he beats himself more than his opponent; for he says, that he has not prepared any such a sketch of an act of parliament: after copying his own paragraph, where he says he has such a bill prepared down to the minutest provisions, he contradicts it by saying:—" *I will keep on discussing the several subjects connected with these embarrassments and this distress; but, never will I put upon paper the details of any plan, for the cure of these evils, unless I be first placed in Parliament.*" What is the word of such a man worth? Mr. Cobbett has brought us news to town, and tells us that the Lancashire people think him the cleverest man in England (he should have excepted the Editor of the Bolton Chronicle, who has just pronounced him a shallow bully, a man who blusters but cannot reason, and who is all sound and no sense.) Cleverness applies to trick as well as to good ability. I have known clever liars; but no man who has read William Cobbett can believe him to be the cleverest liar in England; for, if you do not detect and expose him in what he says, to-day, he will do it for himself to-morrow.

I wish to get rid of this bad subject, thinking it too low for 'The Republican' and doubt if the repetition of the words "monster and beast" will bring forth another notice. However, one of the first things that I shall do, after I have put my house in order, will be to publish the promised larger memoir of William Cobbett. For the present, I can only still wish him an amendment of manners and of character.

RICHARD CARLILE.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MY OLD PASTOR, THE REV.
MR. LLOYD, VICAR OF ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE
WEST, ON RETURNING TO HIS PARISH.

"To question the divine authority of the Scriptures is to doubt. To doubt is to disbelieve. And to disbelieve is to be undone; for he that believeth not shall be damned.—*Lloyd's Christian Theology.*

DAMNED is a very convenient word. It ranges in definition from the simple act of disapprobation up to an infliction of all the tortures that human cruelty, and what is worse, Christian cruelty, can devise. It was left for a Christian mind to invent eternal torments for the damned.

The above text was given to me by the Rev. Robert Taylor, who preached his maiden sermon in this parish church, and accepted his first Curacy under its Vicar, who had another living at Medhurst, in Sussex. It was suggested as a doctrinal hint, on reading the note of Mr. Justice Bailey, where he states that he once doubted; but that he examined to conviction. The Rev. Mr. Taylor's orthodoxy is conclusive with that of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, that penitence, or change of mind, or conviction of error, availeth him not who hath once doubted.

What a comfortable pastor is this of mine! He will send his agent to me for the tithes of the products of my infidelity; but he will not give me the least encouragement to return to his church. I must raise the question in the Courts of Law: *whether the products of infidelity are titheable for the support of the law established Christian Church.*

The best way to attack the Church is through its revenue. The Ministers are not ashamed at the proof that the religion is ill-founded and untenable as to its alleged original facts; but touch the revenue and you at once touch them to the quick. The revenue forms the nucleus of the orthodoxy and to that all men who can profit will stick.

I have had but a slight acquaintance with the Vicar's tithe-collector, having met him but once or twice; but hereafter I must become familiar and examine the Vicar's revenue and his vested rights. I rather think the tithes of this parish are regulated by an Act of Parliament; but Acts of Parliament are not always effectual. It will be wise in the Vicar not to send his collector to me for any kind of church dues; for I shall be so much of an infidel as not to pay before I examine.

R. C.